MEMORANDUM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
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MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

PARTICIPANTS: President Nixon
President William R. Tolbert, Jr., of Liberia
Major General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs

DATE AND TIME: Tuesday, June 5, 1973
11:05 a.m. - 12:00 Noon

PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: You don't need military equipment like that.

The press entered.

Tolbert: We have to be prepared, but we don't want to tie up funds
like that.

The President: Do you still have your house since you moved into
the President's house?

Tolbert: Yes, I still have it. I still go there.

The President: I remember it well. I never ate so well.

Tolbert: Many thanks for sending Mrs. Nixon to my inauguration.

The press was ushered out at 11:10 a.m.

The President: You want pens, not swords.

The affair tonight will be dinner. We will sit next to each
other. We can talk socially or privately. This is your first time
visiting here as Chief of State. On the nonofficial visits -- there is
little difference -- we put it on just like a state visit.
We were both Vice Presidents long, long ago.

Why don't you tell me all about yourself and your country?

Tolbert: I am happy to be here. Your country has been very helpful to my country.

First, congratulations for all you have done as President. I have admired your bold new initiatives for peace in the world.

The President: That is very kind. We work at it. We have to do it together.

Tolbert: The relations of our two countries have been special.

The President: Of all the countries in Africa, they have to be special.

Tolbert: It should now be very special, because we are personal friends. What can be done in a very special way can be very beneficial to both of us. It blesses those who give and who receive it.

This special relationship would enhance the way the world sees the way the United States treats its friends. I am engaged in my country in a war against poverty, ignorance, disease. My goal is to change that condition. I inherited these serious economic conditions and I am attacking it.

Over 60 percent of the children are out of school.

Parts of the country are cut off from other parts.

Most of the people live on subsistence.

I want to bridge the gap between the educated and the uneducated, between the haves and the have nots.

I have admired the way you people do things -- your self-reliance. I am teaching this to my people. Our aim is a rallying of the spirit into a new national self-consciousness and self-reliance.

In only nine months time, we have realized $4.5 million. It seems small, but it is the spirit. I work and work; I work 18 hours a day. I am obsessed to change my country.
In Africa there is a revolutionary spirit in many countries. They are not patient to change things by evolution. I say revolution is wrong; the answer is evolution, but with speed.

If we carry on vigorous agricultural programs, we can develop an improved standard of living, and a money economy. Parts of the country are isolated. In one area I visited, they didn't even know the national anthem when it was played.

We are friends indeed. Friends need friends. I give you what I have -- all the confidence in you that I can give. You have done so much. I am attracted to you -- we are much the same. We are pioneers, bridgebuilders, sometimes misunderstood.

The President: It is part of the price.

Tolbert: We are prepared to die for a cause. We have our inter-African problems. I try to keep friendly relations with my neighbors so I don't have to spend all our money on defense. I have excellent relations with my neighbors. They look up to me for guidelines. Economic strength strengthens one's will. If Liberia develops, my voice on your behalf will be stronger.

At a recent OAU meeting, they wanted me to be Chairman, but I need to concentrate on Liberia. I can lose myself in one cause -- and now it must be Liberia, not Africa.

That is the situation. Our problem is a serious economic situation. Sometimes when we speak out, there are hazards. To protect our coastal area, we need boats; our older ones are out of commission. We need it for economic reasons.

On May 19 we started some development in every province of the country, on the anniversary of our Rally for Development.

I brought you a copy of my OAU speech. We should go all out on social-economic development, regionally, bilaterally, multilaterally. This concept was accepted. I am trying to set an example, developing close cooperation with our neighbors.

Now a word on the Middle East. I spoke to President Sadat, who conveyed to you his regards. He wants to be friends. The Middle East is the corner of the whole world. It is a complicated problem.
We have Security Council Resolution 242 and the OAU resolution approving it. The resolutions are okay, but it takes people of courage to implement the resolutions.

I am friendly with both sides, so I can talk to both. Some people want to cut off relations with Israel -- but I say we must be able to talk.

The occupied areas -- we must figure out how to guarantee Israel's security before giving up those areas.

I talked to Mrs. Meir. One way to move would be to give up some of the unimportant areas. There must be recognition of the territory and security of Israel. Mrs. Meir and President Sadat both want me to visit. You, with your courage, perhaps and you can give pointers.

The President: We are trying to help. You are suggesting what is an interim settlement. If Israel would agree, Sadat says he would work for an interim settlement only if a final settlement is also understood. Israel's elections are a tough period. We are talking to Israel publicly and privately. If Sadat would give a little, Israel is concerned with its territory and security; Egypt is concerned with its sovereignty, and must have back every inch of its territory. Israel says "We need some for our defense."

You may tell President Sadat you passed his message. There is nothing I would like more than to get the problem off dead center. If we could get an interim settlement, with some general idea of an overall settlement... If Egypt would move a bit, maybe we could get Israel to move. Egypt says an interim settlement would become permanent.

I will take to heart your concerns. I hope you will work at it.

War would be a tragedy. Israel would win now, but not in five or ten years. Time is on the Arabs' side.

If Egypt starts a war, it would be beaten unless the Soviet Union intervened.
If both sides could agree to some general principles, and then move on concrete steps, then perhaps we could get moving. Egypt resists that.

Tolbert: We can try. President Sadat said he is interested in having relations with your country. He seemed to be in earnest. That is one reason he kicked out the Russians.

Sekon Toure asked me to give his regards. He is anxious for closer economic relations with us. The resources of Guinea are enormous. They are intact. The people have gone through a struggle and have benefitted themselves. They have strong character. I personally would like American influence to dominate there. Toure lives under fears. He fears a Portuguese invasion in reaction to some of the African positions he takes.

The President: I will keep this in mind.

Tolbert: You can't lose. If there is greater leaning toward the East because of the economic benefits, the East will develop other political ties.

I see the situation as a friend. All I can give is moral encouragement.

The President: One thing is important. Nobody fears Liberia. You can be a friend to all and a moderating influence on radicalism. There is a storm of radicalism running through the area -- true revolution. If you can influence your fellow presidents for progress, not extremism. The future of Africa will not be made by extremists but by those like you -- who are progressive.

You need self-help, development, and welcoming private enterprise.

Uganda -- that's too bad. He is acting like a madman.

Tolbert: I had to talk to him, and it helped.

The President: You can help in these things. Is Burundi hopeless?
Tolbert: It's not hopeless. We are looking into it. Even the situation between Ethiopia and Somalia. Somalia wasn't even going to come to the OAU. I got him to come and we set up a border crossing to use our good offices to settle it. This is Africans settling African problems.

The President: You can play a constructive role.

With regard to bilaterals, we will do what we can.

We are in a difficult situation, but we will do what we can. If we can't, our friends understand.

Tolbert: Of course.

The President: You are interested in the world. We are meeting with China and the Soviet Union. We opened up a dialogue with China; we will be meeting with the Soviet Union again on SALT, etc. But our talks will not be at the expense of our friends.

Our concentration this year on the Soviet Union and Europe will not be at the expense of Africa. Secretary Rogers went to Africa. Latin America is not like Africa. You are the only African country with a special relationship with us. Others are tied to Europe. But we are greatly interested in Africa and that will become apparent. This is an important area of the world. We are working on the hot spots in the world in order to hold down the danger, and the U.S. must deal in an imaginative way with the superpowers.

Your trip will mean that we have not lessened our interest in the people of Africa. It has resources; the governments are new -- except yours. There are problems -- Rhodesia and Zambia, South Africa -- it's important there to rule out the use of force. Sending a UN force to South Africa isn't realistic and won't work. We don't need more war. We are just ending a long war; we know that peace (short of surrender) is better than war. We will defend our interests, but we are interested in peace, not war. We don't want to discriminate against anyone. Tell your African friends we don't have designs on anyone.

Our meetings with the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union don't mean that I agree with Communism, but the world is so small that we must learn to live together.
Tolbert: That is what I say. Toure leans to the left but he is a friend.

The President: It was good to see you.

The meeting ended.
Tolbert 595 5 June 73

1107. P: you don't need much spring like this
1108. T: we have to go prepared, but we don't want
1109. to be too far to take that
P: do you still have your house in
1110. move into his house
T: yes, still have it. got money.
P: how are you, how are you?
T: everything is well, we're all well.

P: you want pay, not work.

T: operations will be filmed. it might

be more to it. we want to get it or something.

This your first time to chief? I'm also in the

same kind of work. this is different.

I'm just like this event.

T: was not done 5 years ago.

P: why don't you tell me all about your event?

T: happy to be here. your country has been

very helpful to my country.

I'm grateful for all you have done so far. I

have received your help and your contributions
towards the world.

P: very kind. we work at it. have to work

at it.

T: relations from 2 countries have been special

and helpful in our work.

P: all countries in union, my friend.

T: we should never be any special because
is our personal freedom. What can be done in a very technical way can be very expensive and difficult. I know this. It takes time and energy, but it is possible to change that situation. I believe that we can work together and I am optimistic.

Over 10% of children are out of school. Parents are cut off from other adults. Western education is not good for everyone. People get left behind. There is no one way to do things. Many people are struggling with their own lives. They are unable to change their own life. They are not able to change the system. They are not able to change the world. They are not able to change the future. They are not able to change the past.

I admire the people who are doing things. They are doing things with my people. They are doing things with their own lives. They are doing things with their own society. They are doing things with their own country.
...I was very sad about this. I couldn't help it, I was in a state of mind. I was very tired and lonesome. I felt I was losing my mind. I was very unhappy. I was very sad.

Please don't worry. I was very sad about this. I couldn't help it, I was in a state of mind. I was very tired and lonesome. I felt I was losing my mind. I was very unhappy. I was very sad.
Sometimes when we speak and write, we use
very precise language, so understanding can
be difficult. I understand your
opinion, and
I agree.

In May, we started to discuss
the situation in
Syria from the
perspective of
human rights and
humanitarian
issues.

We must ensure that
our efforts are
effective in
resolving
the conflict.

We need to
consider the
context of
these issues,
and
understand
the
complex
nature of
the situation.

We have discussed the
motivations and
objectives of
those involved,
and
are working
towards
finding
solutions.

We have
recognized
the need
for a
political
solution,
and
are
working
towards
negotiations
and
dialogue.

I am
self-reflective,
and
am open
to
learning
from others.

We need to
understand
the perspectives
of all parties,
and
work
towards
a
peaceful
resolution.

To ensure
success,
we
must
build
commitment
and
commitment
before
giving
up.

Talked
to
him, he
was
very
open
to
giving
some
of his
thoughts.

He
was
giving
some
tips on
the
management
area.
What is the purpose of settlement? Not to settle.

Village or town, what area are you going to?

You see, you cannot, move your own home.

We are trying to help you, and we suggest that you think about settlement. If you have any

moves, contact the village or town where you would like to settle. If you need further assistance, feel free to ask.

If you would like to settle, you must first have a written agreement. The agreement must be formal and

include all necessary details. You must also provide a detailed plan of settlement.

From now on, you must pay attention to your plans. Writing would have more than just a

symbolic role. If you could get written assurance, it would be much easier to work on.

This would mean a lot, maybe we can get it to move. If you outline, you would never

find a permanent

until now, we have not moved. We have

work at it.

We must be strong. A good and strong

But wait in 5 10 yrs. Finish and

E can start now, would be best make SW

continued
If truth could appeal to great principles, then
American public opinion, then we would
profit nothing, it seems.

The reason, I read, and to the sense of
American unity. Second in earnest (which
was not known).

Tocquevile added to this, and he said,
This example for other less well-known US
characters of statesmen. They are greatable
shows that they struggle and have benefitted
themselves. They have strong characters.

I personally would like to see them and demand
Tocquevile's method in force. Every
port, nation, motion and some of Joseph's
table

I would agree with the idea.

You can't fail, if you're having toward East
because of been benefited. East will only other
(perhaps) the idea, and with a friend. All
for your is moral insurance.

Once the sovereign body, from below. You
can be fruitful and multiple others
not socialism. I have 15 a sense of

individuals unity than a curse - and

Reduction. If you can influence some others
progress in progress. If there
if America will not be made by determinism
better this like your progress.
We all try hard, each other, whether friends,

Students - that's to be had. He is acting like a medium.

I had to take it in, and it helped.

P: You can help them do things. Do business.

I: But i was worst, I was looking with it.

Errors out between Esh and Ramesh. Sandhi
wasn't even going to come. But we, I got
in and came, and sat for a few hours

to see good offices settle. This is

Opinion writing of A. journalist.

P: You can play

Edw and the journalists. We would

what we can.

can in different sections but will

what we can. If we can, you will

understand.

T: of course.

P: You are interested in work. Uncommon

of China & SC. Operational desires about China
will be meeting with SC again, Sat, etc.

will come. Talks will come at expense of

our friends. Opera's maintenance in generous

of Egypt. We must not treat Egypt as

eg of Africa. Egypt is not like Egypt. You can only Africa

country of special relation.
will to Fae. But we greatly intended in opinion that we will know opponent. This is one world we are working on. Not quite in world in order to hold down danger, and most deal in imagination way or imagination your trip will mean that one hour not depend our interest in very Africa. It has numbers, parts and some bright years. These are problems. Work / continue. Good again important time to make out price. (Good ON face & SA. work within, want work) We don't need more now. Just end (a long hope, no humor that poor letter). move with them now. We will depend on the situation, but we are interested in plan, situation. We don't want to eliminate our own TM. Your Opinion found we don't have designs on any one. One way to be good then never enough to/ always yet we would see / little to live together

Then is what I say. Time seems light but this is a friend.